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Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR MIKE MANSFIELD
AT THE TOKYO COLLOQUIUM'S INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
TOKYO, DECEMBER 4, 1981

GOOD AFTERNOON, I AM DELIGHTED TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TODAY TO ADDRESS THIS VERY PRESTIGIOUS COLLOQUIUM ON SECURITY, PEACE AND SURVIVAL. AND I WISH TO THANK PRESIDENT KOBAYASHI FOR HAVING EXTENDED THIS KIND INVITATION TO ME. GATHERINGS SUCH AS THIS ALLOW US TO EXCHANGE VIEWS FRANKLY AND, IN THE PROCESS, CONTRIBUTE TO A DEEPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES ABOUT THE ISSUES WHICH CONFRONT US TODAY. AS MOST OF YOU KNOW, I HAVE LONG BEEN A FIRM BELIEVER IN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP. I AM CONVINCED THAT THERE IS NO MORE IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIP IN THE WORLD TODAY THAN THAT WHICH EXISTS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES. FURTHERMORE, I BELIEVE THAT THROUGH ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SECURITY COOPERATION WE CAN HELP CREATE A WORLD OF PEACE IN WHICH ALL NATIONS WILL BENEFIT.

FOR MORE THAN 30 YEARS THE UNITED STATES HAS ADHERED TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE MAINTENANCE OF A CLOSE COLLABORATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN IS THE CORNERSTONE OF U.S. POLICY IN ASIA, AND THIS PRIORITY IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT TODAY. NATURALLY, RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS -- NO MATTER HOW CLOSE THEIR SHARED INTERESTS -- ARE NOT WITHOUT THEIR UPS AND DOWNS,

AND I WOULD BE THE LAST TO CLAIM THAT OUR VIEWS ARE ALWAYS IN COMPLETE HARMONY WITH THOSE OF JAPAN. HOWEVER, THE MATURITY OF OUR RELATIONSHIP AND THE RESPECT WITH WHICH OUR TWO NATIONS REGARD EACH OTHER HAS BEEN PROVEN TIME AND TIME AGAIN IN OUR ABILITY TO WORK OUT OUR DIFFERENCES ON DIFFICULT AND COMPLEX ISSUES RANGING FROM THE SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS FOR AN AGREEMENT ON TEXTILES AND THE REVERSION OF OKINAWA TO THE RESOLUTION OF MORE RECENT PROBLEMS SUCH AS THE LEVEL OF AUTOMOBILE EXPORTS TO THE U.S. AND JAPANESE NUCLEAR REPROCESSING.

I HAVE GIVEN A NUMBER OF SPEECHES OVER THE LAST FOUR AND A HALF YEARS DETAILING MY SPECIFIC VIEWS ON THE BILATERAL U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP. TODAY, I WOULD LIKE TO TURN MY ATTENTION TO THE BROADER ASPECT OF U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS AND FOCUS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR COOPERATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA. FOR AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE, U.S.-JAPAN COOPERATION HAS MUCH TO CONTRIBUTE TO WORLD PEACE AND STABILITY. I WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT IN AN OVERALL VIEW OF SIGNIFICANT INTERNATIONAL ISSUES WORLD-WIDE, JAPAN'S POLICIES HAVE BEEN HIGHLY SUPPORTIVE OF AND COMPLEMENTARY TO THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES. IN ASIA, WE BOTH WISH TO ASSIST CHINA AS IT SEEKS TO IMPROVE THE LIVELIHOOD OF HER PEOPLE. WE BOTH RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. IN RELATIONS WITH THE ASEAN NATIONS, WE BOTH SEEK TO PROMOTE THE ECONOMIC WELL BEING AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE MEMBER STATES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. WE BOTH SUPPORT THE ASEAN

COUNTRIES IN THEIR DESIRE TO RID SOUTHEAST ASIA OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE REGION AND IN THEIR EFFORT TO PROMOTE STABILITY THROUGHOUT SOUTHEAST ASIA. JAPAN'S SUPPORT OF ASEAN'S EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN KAMPUCHEA HAS BEEN VERY HELPFUL IN THIS REGARD.

THE ISSUE OF ARMS CONTROL IS ANOTHER AREA IN WHICH JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES SHARE A COMMON GOAL. AS THE PRESIDENT MADE CLEAR THE OTHER DAY, THE U.S. IS COMMITTED TO SERIOUS ARMS CONTROL THAT TRULY STRENGTHENS INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. OUR APPROACH MUST BE PRUDENT, PACED AND MEASURED. A CLEAR SENSE OF DIRECTION AND DEDICATION TO THE SERIOUS OBJECTIVES OF ARMS CONTROL IS ESSENTIAL.

REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR FORCES IS OBVIOUSLY IN THE INTEREST OF ALL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. WITH THE RECENT PROPOSALS OF PRESIDENT REAGAN, THERE CAN BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING OF AMERICA'S DEEP COMMITMENT TO ARMS CONTROL AND REDUCTION. WHILE WE ARE DETERMINED TO AVOID A NUCLEAR CATASTROPHY, WE ALSO MUST AVOID NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL. BEGINNING WITH THE BARUCH PLAN, EVERY PRESIDENT HAS SOUGHT INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT TO CONTROL NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND PREVENT THEIR PROLIFERATION. BUT EACH CHIEF EXECUTIVE HAS ALSO RECOGNIZED THAT OUR NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE SECURITY OF OUR ALLIES DEPENDED ON AMERICAN NUCLEAR FORCES AS WELL.

DESPITE EXTRAORDINARY EFFORTS ON THE PART OF THE U.S. TO

ACHIEVE ARMS CONTROL DURING THE 70s, THE WORLD IS A LESS SECURE PLACE NOW THAN IT WAS 10 YEARS AGO. WE BEGAN THE PROCESS OF ARMS CONTROL WITH THE EXPECTATION THAT IT WOULD HELP TO INSURE THAT THE DETERRENT FORCES OF BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION COULD BE HELD DOWN TO A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE LEVEL. BUT WE OVERESTIMATED THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS WOULD HELP TO EASE OTHER TENSIONS. WE ALSO UNDERESTIMATED THE IMPACT OF SUCH TENSIONS ON THE ARMS CONTROL PROCESS ITSELF.

THIS EXPERIENCE HAS TAUGHT US THAT ARMS CONTROL CAN BE ONLY ONE ELEMENT IN A COMPREHENSIVE STRUCTURE OF DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY DESIGNED TO REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR. IT CAN NOT BE THE POLITICAL CENTERPIECE OR THE SOLE BAROMETER OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. ARMS CONTROL ALONE CAN HARDLY ADDRESS SUCH ISSUES AS THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN, THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, THE VIETNAMESE INVASION OF CAMBODIA, THE LIBYAN INVASION OF CHAD OR THE CUBAN INTERVENTION IN AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA. INSTEAD ARMS CONTROL SHOULD BE ONE ELEMENT - NO DOUBT A MAJOR ONE - IN A FULL RANGE OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY EFFORTS TO PROMOTE PEACE AND SECURITY.

FOR THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS IS, AFTER ALL, NOT SIMPLY THE AMOUNT OF MONEY SAVED OR THE NUMBER OF ARMS ELIMINATED BUT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AGREEMENTS WHICH GENUINELY ENHANCE THE SECURITY OF BOTH SIDES. TO THIS END, U.S. NEGOTIATORS BEGAN MEETING WITH THEIR SOVIET COUNTERPARTS IN

GENEVA THIS WEEK TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF TRYING TO REACH SUCH AN AGREEMENT ON REDUCTION OF INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE.

THE MIDDLE EAST IS ANOTHER AREA IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN HAVE COMMON INTERESTS AND HAVE COOPERATED OVER THE YEARS. I HAVE SAID IT BEFORE, AND I WILL REPEAT IT AGAIN HERE TODAY, THAT WE ARE VERY APPRECIATIVE OF THE POLICIES PURSUED BY JAPAN AS A RESULT OF THE IRANIAN AND AFGHAN ISSUES. OF ALL OUR ALLIES, JAPAN HAS BEEN WITHOUT QUESTION THE MOST SUPPORTIVE OF OUR SHARED INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES, IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT IT INCURRED SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC COSTS AS A RESULT. ON THE MATTER OF IRAN, JAPAN STOOD WITH US THROUGHOUT THE ORDEAL OF SECURING THE RELEASE OF OUR HOSTAGES AND REFUSED TO PAY THE \$2.50 PER BARREL EXTRA CHARGE FOR IRANIAN CRUDE DEMANDED BY THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT. TWO DAYS LATER IRAN CUT OFF ALL OF ITS OIL SHIPMENTS TO JAPAN, SHIPMENTS WHICH CONSTITUTED 13% OF JAPAN'S IMPORTS. ON AFGHANISTAN TOO, JAPAN WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO RECOGNIZE THE IMPLICATIONS TO STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND IN ASIA OF THE SOVIET INVASION. AND WE HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN EITHER THE STEADFAST PARTICIPATION OF JAPAN IN THE BOYCOTT OF THE 1980 MOSCOW OLYMPICS.

WHILE THERE ARE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN ON DEALING WITH THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO), WE BOTH FULLY SUPPORT UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION 242, AND BOTH VIEW NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENT

AS ESSENTIAL TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST,
AND WE STAND TOGETHER IN SUPPORT OF THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT IN
THE WAKE OF PRESIDENT SADAT'S ASSASSINATION AND THE UNITED
STATES WELCOMES JAPAN'S ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THAT COUNTRY.

JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZE THEIR SHARED
RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE DEVELOPING NATIONS OF THE WORLD. PRIME
MINISTER SUZUKI AND PRESIDENT REAGAN ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN
THE CANCUN SUMMIT MEETING ON COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT, WHERE
A BEGINNING WAS MADE IN SHIFTING THE FOCUS FROM IDEOLOGICAL
DEBATE TO PRACTICAL APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT. WE SHARE THE
BELIEF THAT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REQUIRES MUTUAL COOPERATION
FOR THE COMMON GOOD OF ALL NATIONS. WHILE NOT ALL OF THE MAJOR
WORLD POWERS CHOSE TO APPEAR AT CANCUN, JAPAN AND THE UNITED
STATES DID FULFIL THEIR INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES BY
ATTENDING, LISTENING AND LEARNING AND ULTIMATELY RECONFIRMING
OUR COMMON RESOLVE TO PROVIDE EFFECTIVE, PRACTICAL SUPPORT TO
THE DEVELOPING NATIONS. WE WELCOME JAPAN'S COMMITMENT TO
SUBSTANTIAL INCREASES IN ECONOMIC AID TO THE DEVELOPING WORLD
AS A CONCRETE EXAMPLE OF THE KIND OF ASSISTANCE MOST LIKELY TO
RESULT IN LONG-RANGE BENEFITS TO THE ENTIRE WORLD COMMUNITY.

IN THE CONTEXT OF THE THEME OF THIS SYMPOSIUM, I BELIEVE A
FEW WORDS ABOUT THE U.S.-JAPAN MUTUAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP
WOULD BE IN ORDER. WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN THE 21 YEARS
SINCE THE REVISED TREATY OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND SECURITY WAS
PUT INTO EFFECT. THERE IS ACCEPTANCE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE

IMPORTANCE OF THE TREATY FOR STABILITY IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. THE UNITED STATES APPRECIATES ALL THAT JAPAN HAS BEEN DOING TO INCREASE ITS DEFENSE EXPENDITURES. DURING THE FULL DECADE OF THE 70s, STARTING FROM WHAT WAS, ~~OF COURSE~~, A SMALL BASE, JAPAN INCREASED ITS DEFENSE SPENDING AT A RATE OF 8% A YEAR. NATO DURING THE FULL DECADE OF THE 70s INCREASED ITS DEFENSE EXPENDITURES AT AN ANNUAL RATE OF ABOUT 2.5% AND IN THE SAME DECADE WE IN THE UNITED STATES ACTUALLY DECREASED OUR DEFENSE EXPENDITURES AT A RATE OF 2% A YEAR IN ACTUAL DOLLARS.

NEVERTHELESS, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT JAPAN CAN AND SHOULD DO MORE ^{IN ITS OWN DEFENSE}. OUR ONGOING SECURITY DIALOGUE WITH JAPAN DOES NOT DWELL ON SPECIFIC AMOUNTS OR PERCENTAGES, BUT IS FOCUSED ON SUCH FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS AS OUR RESPECTIVE ROLES AND MISSIONS. JAPAN HAS INDICATED ITS WILLINGNESS TO DO MORE TO CONTRIBUTE TO OUR COMMON SECURITY. PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI'S SUPPORT FOR A HEIGHTENED DEFENSE EFFORT IN HIS JOINT COMMUNIQUE WITH THE PRESIDENT LAST SPRING WAS AN IMPORTANT - AND MUCH APPRECIATED - EXPRESSION OF THAT WILL.

OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO JAPAN - AND TO THE U.S. - IS IMPROVEMENT OF THE PROTECTION OF JAPAN AND THE SEAS AROUND JAPAN THROUGH MORE EFFECTIVE ANTI-SUBMARINE AND AIR DEFENSES AND GREATER DEFENSIVE READINESS. BUT WE RESPECT THE OBVIOUS FACT THAT FINAL DECISIONS ON THESE ISSUES ARE UP TO JAPAN, JUST AS THE U.S. DEFENSE BUDGET IS A PRODUCT OF AMERICA'S OWN DECISIONS. WE ARE DEEPLY SENSITIVE TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND

OTHER CONSTRAINTS WITHIN WHICH THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT MUST OPERATE. WE HAVE NO INTENTION, ~~OF COURSE~~, OF CALLING THESE INTO QUESTION. BUT WE HOPE THAT CONTINUING U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY CONSULTATIONS WILL FURTHER COORDINATE THE ROLES AND MISSIONS JAPAN'S SELF-DEFENSE FORCES CAN PLAY IN ORDER TO BOTH ENHANCE JAPAN'S OWN SECURITY AND ENABLE U.S. FORCES THE FLEXIBILITY NECESSARY TO PROTECT OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS IN THE VITAL INDIAN OCEAN AND PERSIAN GULF REGIONS.

IN CONCLUSION, I WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S REMARKS IN HIS SPEECH OF TWO WEEKS AGO ON THE ULTIMATE GOALS OF THE UNITED STATES IN PROMOTING BOTH CREDIBLE REGIONAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AND AT THE SAME TIME WORKING STRENUOUSLY FOR GENUINE ARMS CONTROL AND REDUCTION ON A WORLD-WIDE SCALE. THE PRESIDENT SAID, "THERE IS NO REASON WHY PEOPLE IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD SHOULD HAVE TO LIVE IN PERMANENT FEAR OF WAR OR ITS SPECTER. I BELIEVE THE TIME HAS COME FOR ALL NATIONS TO ACT IN A RESPONSIBLE SPIRIT THAT DOES NOT THREATEN OTHER STATES."

THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN PERHAPS MORE THAN ANY OTHER NATION ON EARTH ARE WITNESS TO THE TERRIBLE RAVAGES THAT WAR BRINGS AND SHARE OUR BELIEF IN THE NECESSITY OF EXTENDING THE BENEFITS OF PEACE TO ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. AS RESPONSIBLE AND EQUAL PARTNERS IN A REALISTIC QUEST FOR PEACE AND SECURITY NOT ONLY IN ASIA, BUT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, WE ARE GRATEFUL FOR JAPAN'S COMMITMENT TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S DREAM QUOTED BY PRESIDENT REAGAN OF "AN AGE IN WHICH THE STRONG ARE

JUST AND THE WEAK SECURE AND THE PEACE PRESERVED."

OUR DEDICATION TO THE CREATION OF SUCH A WORLD IS STRONGER
NOW THAN EVER BEFORE, AND WITH JAPAN'S CONTINUED COOPERATION,
WE CAN AND WE WILL SUCCEED.

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